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FILE No. PRD7/1

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE,
Riverwalk House,
157-166 Millbank,
LONDON, S.W.1.

21 May, 1970

RD7/1/ The Black Power Movement
in Great Britain.

Black Power

You will recall that last summer, at your own suggestion, your people kindly looked over the draft of a paper on the Black Power movement which had been prepared here.

2. We have now amended the text of the third part of the original paper in the light of subsequent events. I attach a copy of the new edition. We should be most grateful if you could vet it again for us. We are not proposing to make any very wide use of it, but it would be nice to know that it is all right.

(J.E. Tyrer)

Information Research Department

LAST PAPER

T.C. Platt, Esq.,
Immigration and Nationality Department,
Home Office,
Romney House,
Marsham Street,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Mr. Machabon

After some discussion, the attached text has now been approved with the Home Office. Mrs. O'Connor Home has been informed and the copy is duly distributed.

CONFIDENTIAL

Noted
HW 29/5
By Mr. Tyrer 15 June
J.E. Tyrer
26/6

CONFIDENTIAL

Reference..... *PR*

PR 7/11 The Black Power Movement in G.B.

Mr. MacLaren *W 11/5*

Black Power in Britain

As suggested by Mr. Crook at last Tuesday's prayers, I have revised the unclassified paper on the Black Power movement in this country which was originally drafted by Mr. Langridge last summer. I have also added a few paragraphs which take account, necessarily somewhat tentatively, of the latest small-scale outbreaks of violence in London.

2. If Mr. Crook agrees, I suggest that we should next show a copy of this paper to Mr. Platt of the Home Office, whose section vetted the original paper. Although we have raised no new issues in this latest version, Mr. Platt's section is the unit in Whitehall charged with the oversight of race relations in this country and I think that we should take care to carry them with us on this occasion. In fact, I do not anticipate any difficulty in this respect. Thereafter the paper might be sent, for a start, to all the recipients of British Communist Activities.

J.E. Tyrer
(J.E. Tyrer)
1 May, 1970

Miss Allott *W 11/5*

Mrs O'Connor-Howe *W 11/5*

Mr Crook

Mr Tyrer's revision of the section of the IRD 'Black Power' paper concerned with the situation in Britain replaces the version dated June, 1969. The revision has involved additions, adjustments of factual detail, a shortening of the background introduction and a representation of the conclusion. It also discusses Black Power organisations before dealing with individual leaders, reversing the order in the earlier version.

2. I agree with Mr Tyrer's suggestion that Mr Platt of the Home Office should see the paper.

3. I have attached a copy of the earlier paper for comparison with the new version.

C.F. MacLaren
(C.F. MacLaren)
1 May, 1970

/In fact ...

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In fact the original paper on the Black Power Movement was given no official distribution in the U.K. I have reminded Mr. MacLaren of this but he still feels the present paper could be sent round as a supplement with the next British Communist Activities, a paper which, as you will know, has a pretty selective list of recipients.

2. I agree that so long as we can confine it to the section of the Black Power Movement in Britain this seems a sensible idea.

Josephine Plummer

J. O'Connor Howe
13 May, 1970.

Mr. Hutter

Please have a look at the . I suggest we send the ~~the~~ name to the H.O., as proposed, & then consider carefully what distribution we should give to the final version. I'd like to get it out a bit, but am not sure that a B.C.A. annex is quite right.

Mr Typer

CC

Please send the revised version to Mr Platt. ^{8/5} Could I then have this copy back with the B.C.A. distribution list and any comments?

J. M. Austin
20/5

CONFIDENTIAL

THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN

Race Relations in Britain

Although racialism is not widespread in Britain, the arrival over the last few years of immigrants from the Commonwealth and their concentration in about 80 towns in Britain, mostly in London, the Midlands and the West Riding of Yorkshire, has given rise to certain social problems and some manifestation of racial prejudice. In the last 25 years, over a million Commonwealth immigrants have entered Britain; about 500,000 from the West Indies, 300,000 from India and Pakistan and the remainder from other Commonwealth countries. The present British coloured population numbers about one and a quarter million of which it is believed one fifth were born in Britain. Estimates of the future growth of the coloured population in the United Kingdom vary considerably.

2. Commonwealth immigrants face the same problems as European immigrants, in particular those which arise from differences of language, religion, and cultural background. The problems are, however, made more difficult because

- (a) many Commonwealth immigrants are unskilled workers with no experience of industrial society;
- (b) they are easily distinguishable by their colour and the instinctive fear of the stranger can give rise to manifestations of colour prejudice in acts of discrimination;
- (c) their need for unskilled work forces them to settle in urban areas where housing conditions and the social services are already under strain;
- (d) many immigrants, who cannot adapt quickly to British society, are moving into close communities cut off from their workmates and neighbours.

3. On the whole, British coloured communities do not have the same sense of injustice and inferior status as the negroes of the USA. The British immigrant groups are smaller (2% of the population while, in America, negroes constitute 12% of the whole) and what grievances they have are naturally more recent in origin. Relationships with authority are not fraught with mistrust or antagonism. To a large degree, the authorities themselves are responsible for this. In 1965 the Government passed a Race Relations Act which made discrimination on grounds of race, colour or ethnic or national origin unlawful in certain public places. The Race Relations Act of 1968 extended the scope of this Act to cover discrimination in the provision of goods, facilities and services, as well as in employment and housing. The section of the 1965 Act which was intended to prevent deliberate incitement to racial hatred, orally or written - without curtailing freedom of comment or controversy - remains in force and seems to have done a great deal to moderate the terms in which racial matters are dealt with in public writing and discussion.

4. The Race Relations Board set up to administer the 1965 Act was increased in size in 1968, and its powers extended to cover the provisions of the new Act. The National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, which was also set up in 1965 to encourage and co-ordinate voluntary efforts to counter racial discrimination, was made a statutory body - the Community Relations Commission - with wide terms of reference, including a brief to advise the Government on matters involving race relations.

5. The Government provides grants to local authorities who have to employ staff to deal with local problems of race relations, and in the particularly delicate field of education the official policy is to provide extra teachers and equipment in areas where the teaching of English to immigrant pupils is a problem. Increasingly special arrangements are being made for teaching English to older immigrants as well. Problems of low-grade housing and overcrowding of immigrants are dealt with under the wider frame work of slum clearance and housing schemes. The Government has also instituted an urban programme for making additional financial assistance available to areas of special social need, many of which are areas of high immigrant concentration and will benefit from such a programme.

6. Since 1967 continuing efforts have been made to assist relations between the police and the coloured immigrants. This is a field in which misunderstandings and mistrust have been exploited by extremists. Each police force with a sizeable immigrant community has made special arrangements to minimise possible misunderstandings. These arrangements include the appointment of police-immigrant liaison officers, who often sit on the local councils of the Community Relations Commission. In some areas officers have learned the immigrant language, and in general race relations is part of training at all stages of a police officer's career.

7. One of the most serious problems of race relations in Britain is the possibility that coloured school-leavers may not be able to get the jobs to fit their aspirations and qualifications. If this happens they may turn to more aggressive methods of securing their rights and thus become vulnerable to the views of agitators and extremists.

8. On the whole, however, Black Power has little following in Britain. In particular the Indian and Pakistani communities, which are closely-knit and tend to be inward-looking, are unsympathetic to Black Power ideas. The West Indian community in Britain, taken as a whole, is only slightly more susceptible.

Foreign Influence on Black Power in Britain

9. Black Power exponents in this country are noticeably responsive to outside example and the fame of such American leaders as Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael and latterly the Black Panther hierarchy has impressed ambitious individuals. These local agitators vary from self-publicists to those who are genuinely convinced that the American Black Power ideology is relevant to British conditions or have incorporated some of its concepts into their existing Marxist views. None has a following of any size and few seem able to work in harmony with others.

10. The American influence on coloured militants here has been directly stimulated from time to time by visiting American Negro leaders. In 1965 the late Malcolm X, then still a Black Muslim, came to Britain and deeply impressed some of the more disillusioned West Indians by his self-confidence and oratory. To the few converts he made he was a personification of his own ideas of black pride and they were attracted by his teaching that Black Power should be an international struggle based on the common roots of negroes everywhere. His best-known British convert was Michael de Freitas (also known as Michael Abdul Malik) who took the name Michael X, according to the practice of the American Black Muslims. He first founded a Black Muslim Brotherhood of Britain, which met with little success, and later organised the Racial Adjustment Action Society.

11. By the time Stokely Carmichael arrived in Britain in July 1967, the tone of the speeches by coloured militants at Hyde Park Corner had become increasingly

violent. These speeches continue, indeed, to be the most obvious manifestation of Black Power in Britain and are, for long periods, its only manifestation. Carmichael demanded revolutionary action:

"If racism is institutionalised in a society, the only way to end it is to destroy the society". (S. Carmichael, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation)

After he was asked to leave the country, he left behind him ideas which were seized upon by the militants, each of whom, however, offered his own interpretation of them. The new Universal Coloured People's Association (UCA) announced that it was to be the British equivalent of Carmichael's Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), but there were no apparent links between the two bodies, although four SNCC members were reported to have visited Britain early in 1968. (The Times, 14 March, 1968)

12. Paul Boutelle, an American Trotskyist and a member of the Socialist Workers' Party which has tried to ally itself to the American Black Power Movement, stayed in Britain in June, 1968. Two members of the Trotskyist 'Vietnam Solidarity Campaign', Tariq Ali and Pat Jordan, were said to have partly sponsored his visit (Sunday Telegraph, 2 June, 1968) and at a meeting organised by them in Hyde Park he urged that black people everywhere should arm themselves.

13. Another American visitor was Bobby Seale, one of the founders of the Black Panther Party in America, who visited Britain in April, 1969 on his way to Scandinavia. His presence had little immediate effect, but encouraged the small Black Panther Movement which had already been set up in London. His subsequent arrest in the USA has been represented as political martyrdom by his few British supporters. A recent visitor, in February, 1970, was Connie Matthews, Black Panthers' international organiser.

14. Some Black Power leaders have also been influenced by Peking, and a few are regular visitors to the Chinese Diplomatic Mission in London. There is evidence that what has been called "the official Maoist network in Western Europe" is deeply interested in Black Power in Britain. Albert Manchanda, a part of that "network", and his deputy Teja Singh Sahota, are active in the Black Power movement and have both visited China recently. Indeed, Sahota's latest visit in December, 1968 was alleged to have been paid for by the Chinese Diplomatic Mission in London.

15. Gora Ebrahim, a South African Maoist who visited Britain in 1967-1968, is such another (The Times, 15 March, 1968). Ebrahim has influenced such activists as Ajoy Ghose, Roy Sawh, Johnny James, Jagmohan Joshi, and Manchanda (who is on the editorial board of Lal Kar, a Punjabi newspaper printed in Brussels and flown to London to be sold to Indian immigrants).

16. In sum, American influences have largely worked on West Indians in Britain, while the Maoists (and Trotskyists) have largely worked on the Asians. In both cases, though, the effects have been limited to the militant leadership and a few followers; there is no evidence of significant support at the grass roots for Maoism, Trotskyism or for militant Black Power. It is improbable that there are more than about 2,000 Black Power supporters in the whole country.

The British Black Power Movement

17. There are probably more than 1,000 coloured immigrant organisations in Britain, but the majority are unofficial cultural bodies working to create contacts between

immigrants, help new arrivals and advise them about schools, housing and jobs. In this last capacity many work in liaison with the authorities. Very few British organisations can properly be called Black Power groups and even those with militant leaders often contain only a minority of Black Power supporters.

18. The few militant organisations rely heavily on the publicity which they attract. their actual support is seldom known, as they often have no registered membership; in nearly all cases the number of adherents is much exaggerated.

19. The aims of the Black Power groups are seldom clearly articulated and vary from group to group. Usually they are a mélange of vague left-wing ideals, and more immediate demands for the alleviation of welfare problems, shading into racialism and subversion.

20. On occasion, external influences such as 'Powellism', the Kenyan Asian problem, the various Immigration Acts or the exposure of some particular case of exploitation of coloured immigrants tend to create a temporary alliance between the militant groups, sometimes the moderates as well. In general, though, moderate leaders denounce the militants as self-publicists who do more harm than good, while militant leaders seem united only by their dislike of moderation.

21. The militant groups in Britain which are, or have been in the past few years, controlled by Black Power activists include:

(a) Racial Adjustment Action Society (RAAS), founded in 1965 by Michael de Freitas and Roy Sawh to further the economic, social, and cultural welfare of coloured people in Britain. Its ideology became increasingly militant as de Freitas, in particular, tried to exploit the publicity that American Black Power leaders were gaining in Britain. After his imprisonment in 1967, RAAS collapsed; lately its former leader has tried to revive it under the banner of Black Capitalism. At its height, in 1965, RAAS claimed 45,000 members (the actual figure was probably around 1,000). Its activities were limited to fiery orations by Sawh at Hyde Park Corner, and ill-attended meetings in Reading.

(b) The Universal Coloured People's Association (UCPA), formed by Sawh in June, 1967, and taken over by Obi Egbuna in 1968. It at one stage incorporated another small group formed by Egbuna, the Black Panthers. The UCPA claims that it is Britain's Black Power Movement, although Sawh is now attempting to create a Black Power Party of his own. Its ideology is that of Stokely Carmichael, although it avoids cooperation with most white radical groups. UCPA has a Trotskyist bias and, from time to time, the UCPA banner may be found in the same demonstration as the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, among others; Egbuna himself has said that he needs "a two-pronged ideology, one to understand the economics of racism and one to understand the economics of class".

(c) The Indian Workers' Association (IWA), a good example of a non-militant body with a highly militant leadership. It was founded in 1940 and has its headquarters in Birmingham. Its main strength is among immigrant communities in the Midlands, but it also has a large branch in Southall. In 1965 it had sixteen branches and claimed a membership of 25,000. Recently it has been split by internal dissensions and several branches have become the scenes of power struggles. The current leadership is extreme left-wing. Under Jagmohan Joshi's guidance, the Association has become affiliated to the Black People's Alliance (see (g) below) but it remains in essence non-militant.

(d) The West Indian Standing Conference (WISC). WISC is now divided into two completely separate branches; a London-based branch dominated by a militant

leadership, and a Birmingham branch which tries to be multi-racial and multi-political, whose leaders are moderate and are directly opposed to the anti-white teachings of the London group. The moderate branch, which has 4,000 members, coordinates the work of six immigrant organisations in the Birmingham area and has always been basically a social welfare body. The more political London group claimed 7,500 members in 1966, but this was certainly an inflated figure; in 1967 it published a report accusing the London police of 'nigger-hunting'.

(e) The Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD) was founded in 1965 by a group of clergy, politicians and sociologists to oppose racial discrimination and to influence the Government in connexion with the Race Relations Act, then being drafted. Predominately middle-class and essentially moderate in tone, it was distrusted by the militant leaders, and, at the end of 1967, CARD was the victim of a partially successful takeover by militants, after which its membership and influence waned. By the end of 1968 moderates again controlled most of its branches. It remains a multi-racial organisation and is not affiliated to the Black People's Alliance. It is alleged that some of its London branches are dominated by the pro-Chinese London Workers' Association. (Daily Telegraph Magazine, 23 May, 1969)

(f) The Black Eagles, a small group of activists working in South London who concentrate on local problems and black self-help. They have copied the American Black Panther Party in using "ministerial" titles for their leaders (Daily Telegraph Magazine, 23 May, 1969). Their "Prime Minister" is Darcus Awusu, a Trinidadian ex-member of the RAAS and UCPA.

(g) The Black People's Alliance (BPA) was founded in 1968 as a result of the unease felt in the various coloured communities following Mr. Enoch Powell's controversial speeches on the racial situation in Britain. In April, 1968 50 delegates from 20 immigrant communities met in Leamington Spa to form a body which would pursue a policy of "militant action to combat white racism"; this was the origin of the Black People's Alliance. The affiliated associations were by no means all militant, although some of the moderate bodies would have little to do with it. To the militants, however, the formation of the BPA was "a beautiful thing". Jagmohan Joshi said that "for the first time in the history of race relations in this country, black people have decided to unite". (New Statesman, 10 May, 1968). There was little argument about the aims of the Alliance, but its manifesto was vague. This was a symptom of internal uneasiness; many of its constituent bodies had little sympathy with militant aims and, soon after it was founded, moderate groups on its periphery began to drop away, including the West Indian Standing Committee (Birmingham branch), the National Federation of Pakistani Associations in Britain and the Indian Workers' Association branches in Southall and Slough. The BPA thus came increasingly under the militants' control although it has not fulfilled their expectations and there has been disharmony among the militants themselves (Roy Sawh was ousted from the Steering Committee early this year after a clash with Joshi). The Alliance has organised public meetings and demonstrations in conjunction with other groups. One such demonstration on the occasion of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in January, 1969, ended in rioting outside Rhodesia House and South Africa House, although the BPA and most of its supporters played no part in the violence, which was mainly the work of Trotskyists and militant students.

Militant Leaders

22. Among the principal Black Power leaders are

(a) Michael de Freitas, alias Michael X or Michael Abdul Malik, a Trinidadian who formed the defunct Black Muslim Brotherhood of Britain in 1965. Shortly afterwards he helped found the Racial Adjustment Action Society. He came to Black Power after a dubious past (he had been implicated in Rachmanite housing schemes, drug traffic and brothel-keeping.) His main motive in espousing Black Power has probably been self-publicity. This reached a climax in 1967 when he was sent to gaol for a year for inciting racial hatred in a speech in which he claimed to have killed a white man and urged others to do likewise if circumstances demanded. His gaol sentence, he boasts, has caused more people to listen to him:

"Before we had to work hard for a meeting, now the halls are always filled." (Daily Telegraph, 23 May, 1969)

De Freitas is now trying to establish a kind of "Black Capitalist" centre of shops and flats in North London, through which he hopes to resuscitate the defunct Racial Adjustment Action Society.

(b) Roy Sawh, an Indian from Guyana who has lived in Britain since 1959 and has spent two years at Moscow University (which he left after trouble over his racist views). He has sympathies with Peking and was in close contact with Gora Ebrahim when he visited this country. Sawh is a talented speaker, but has found it nearly impossible to cooperate with other leaders. He was convicted of racial incitement in August, 1967. After helping de Freitas to form RAAS in 1965, Sawh left to organise the Universal Coloured People's Association (UCPA) in June, 1966. He lost the leadership of the UCPA to other extremists led by Obi Egbuna and formed the Universal Coloured People's and Arab Association. He then took part in the formation of the Black People's Alliance in early 1968, but left its Steering Committee in the spring of 1969 after a dispute and has now joined the Labour Party.

(c) Jagmohan Joshi, is Secretary of the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain and convenor of the Black People's Alliance's Steering Committee. He is a Maoist and regards the black-white confrontation as an anti-imperialist struggle. Although he countenances alliances with radical white groups he scorns moderates. He has defined his aims as

"uniting the black peoples of Great Britain, helping to fight against British Imperialism both here and abroad. Our work is not intended to exclude the white working class, the most advanced sections of which, for example, the new Communist Party of Great Britain, Marxist Leninist (CPGB-ML) are with us". (Letter to Liberation, published by the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of India).

(d) Obi Egbuna, is a Nigerian playwright (he is an Ibo who supported 'Biafra') and a theorist of Black Power. He was given a twelve-month suspended sentence in December, 1968 for conspiracy to incite the murder of police. His arrest and subsequent imprisonment for five months awaiting trial brought him support from other groups and leaders, including some moderates. He places special emphasis on black culture and a spirit of identity with other coloured peoples. He has told the Times (14 March, 1968) that he

"has strong links with Africa and America... He was contact with Ahmed Mohammed Rahman Babu who has firm Chinese connexions and was an architect of the Zanzibar revolution. He was first led towards Black Power in America."

In 1968 Egbuna lectured on Black Power at the so-called 'Anti-University of London' in Shoreditch, whose courses included seminars on revolution and which had links with the Peace University of New York.

(e) Frankie Y (Frankie Dymon), a former lieutenant of Michael X and one of the few members of the Black Muslim Brotherhood of Britain. Dymon has a penchant for violent talk about teaching his people karate, handling explosives, and terrorist tactics. He claims that caches of arms to be used for Black Power riots exist. His speeches seem a mixture of exhibitionism and an attempt to draw attention to the frustration of some young intelligent coloured people.

(f) Johnny James is a West Indian, resident in this country since 1959. A prolific writer and a Trotskyist with pro-Chinese views, he is known to have been in contact with the Belgian dissident Communist Jacques Grippa and with Gora Ebrahim. He is the effective head of the Caribbean Workers' Movement and was assistant secretary of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD), during the struggle for control between the militants and moderates in November, 1967. James is one of the hard-core of activists usually to be found at the centre of Black Power demonstrations.

(g) Ajoh Ghose was convicted and fined in November 1967 for inciting racial hatred at Hyde Park Corner. He is a leader of the UCPA and is a frequent visitor to the Chinese Diplomatic Mission.

(h) Albert Manchanda is an avowed Maoist and has played a leading part in Vietnam war demonstrations in London. He runs the Britain-Vietnam Solidarity Front, is a regular visitor to the Chinese Diplomatic Mission and has attached himself to the Black Power movement as a means of gaining a wider audience for his views. Manchanda is the leading Maoist in the Association of Indian Communists of Great Britain, which has a degree of influence in the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain (IWA).

(i) Andrew Salkey, a Jamaican novelist, agitates for Black Power on two fronts, the Jamaican and the British. He is deeply interested in events in his native country and has organised and led demonstrations to the Jamaican High Commission in London. In August, 1968 he headed a protest against the Jamaican Government's ban on the writings of leading American Black Power authors, and in October, 1968 he was fined for obstruction after a protest against the banning from Jamaica of a university lecturer, Walter Rodney. He claims that he is not a Communist, but he is probably a Marxist and has visited Cuba, describing that island as an example to be emulated by other Caribbean countries. (Evening Standard, 10 July, 1968). To Salkey, British society, at present "fundamentally racist", must be uprooted and rebuilt.

Conclusion

23. The Black Power Movement in Great Britain is, therefore, more of a potential than an immediate threat. Its constant support is negligible and its leaders are at loggerheads. It is an embarrassment to the majority of coloured immigrants and their representatives. Its supporters outside the immigrant communities are almost wholly confined to a fringe of Maoists and Trotskyists, together with the hooligan element which they attract.

24. Herein lies such danger to public order as the movement at present represents. Although it is largely ignored by the Communist Party, apart from a few individual Communists, and is derided by the largest Trotskyist group in the country (the Socialist Labour League) there are Trotskyists (e.g. the International Marxist Group) who have espoused Black Power and who, since the lessening of the impact of Vietnam as a slogan, have been looking for other issues to exploit. This small but

articulate Group, which is the official affiliate in Great Britain of the Trotskyist 'Fourth International' in Paris, also controls the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and, having quarrelled with the proprietors of The Black Dwarf, now issues its own journal The Red Mole (edited by the Pakistani, Tariq Ali). This Group was very much in evidence in London in April, 1970 when about 20 people were arrested in London for Black Power demonstrations inspired by recent troubles in Trinidad. It is significant that on nearly all the occasions so far when the press has reported Black Power rioting - in January, 1969, March and April, 1970 - more white trouble-makers, often Trotskyists, Maoists or merely hooligans, have been detained than coloured militants. Black Power has not, in fact, even begun to attract significant support from its supposed natural supporters in this country and, as long as this remains the case, it will remain a side issue, however unpleasant, in the sphere of British race relations.

July, 1970

BLACK POWER - BRITAIN

Summary

1. The conditions in which many immigrants in Britain live are similar in kind, but not in degree, to those affecting the American Negro. There exists a real gap between the standard of living and status available to white and to black British citizens. Apart from shortages of houses and jobs, the most serious problem in coloured communities may in future be that of educated young persons unable to find vocations in which they can use their qualifications. (Paras 9-12)
2. A major fear among moderates is that over-publicity of the problems of coloured immigrants may intensify the harmful racial dissension which arose after Mr. Enoch Powell's speeches of early 1968. (Paras 13,47,59).
3. Despite this, race relations in Britain otherwise tend to be harmonious, and the great majority of coloured immigrants here seem confident that their problems can be solved by traditional means. (Paras 14,15,44-46).
4. The Black Power movement in Britain consists of a few articulate leaders (paras 26-43) who have a small but probably growing following. The influences on these leaders come from the USA and, to a less extent, China. The Maoists have made a determined effort to win Black Power figures to their ideology. (Paras 16-25).
5. Militant leaders in Britain are seldom explicit about their aims but usually follow the Stokely Carmichael theory that only violent revolution can rid a society of racism. The activities of these leaders have so far been limited to virulent oratory. In this they have been somewhat inhibited by the Race Relations Act. (Paras 19 20,65).
6. Black Power organisations in Britain are usually either small groups with no registered membership, or established organisations whose executives have been taken over by militants. (Paras 44-63).
7. The various groups and leaders show little capacity for cooperation but occasionally outside influences temporarily unite the coloured communities. (Paras 47,59).
8. Despite the sporadic nature of the manifestations of Black Power in Britain, and its minority support among coloured immigrants here, it must be regarded as a real threat to the traditional harmony which has, with a few exceptions, characterised race relations in Britain. (Paras 68,69).

(i) Background

9. Although it is difficult to estimate with accuracy the numbers of coloured people in Britain and is even more difficult to predict their growth rate, it is generally thought that Britain's coloured population now numbers just over one million, of which one-fifth were born here. The numbers will probably continue to rise and could reach about three million by the end of the century.
10. The conditions in which many immigrants in Britain live are similar in

some respects to those affecting the Negroes in the USA. Overcrowding and shortage of housing and of schools could provide a breeding ground for extremism and violence. In the London areas of Brixton, Notting Hill and Southall, coloured immigrants account for 60-65% of the inhabitants. Conditions in these places have been described as 'ghetto-like' by some sociologists, while in Birmingham the school system is severely strained by the increasing numbers of immigrant children entering it.

11. There exists for coloured Britons some difficulty in obtaining the houses and jobs which they want, and this has given rise to the impression that there is a wide gap between the standards of living and status available to white and black British citizens. Although there is, in some cases, a barrier of prejudice which frustrates the immigrants' ambitions, the main problem is that many new immigrants belong to low-income, unskilled groups and tend to settle in areas already occupied by similar coloured people. Because many arrive with debts to relations in their countries of origin, they are often compelled to live cheaply and, therefore, the standards of accommodation in these areas tend to be depressed. Low standards of education and often of speaking English are present among all groups of immigrants; the language problem is particularly important in schools where coloured children are sometimes seen by white parents as a retarding factor to their own children's education. Another factor which serves to exacerbate racial differences is a difficulty in communicating with the authorities - a difficulty found in varying degrees among all the coloured communities in the United Kingdom.

12. A more serious element which may well lead to the deterioration of race relations in Britain is the increasing dearth of jobs for coloured school-leavers, a condition which threatens to become worse as the numbers involved increase, and will probably become particularly acute among the more qualified. It is this problem which prompted Dr. David Pitt, a moderate West Indian leader, to say

"I can't take this generation of immigrants seriously. Its the school-leavers I am worried about. I have seen the effect Stokely Carmichael had on them and can guess what will happen if they get their academic qualifications and still end up on the buses." (Sunday Telegraph, 7 April, 1968)

13. One major fear among black moderates and white observers is that the inevitably wider publicity given to these problems in the future will stimulate that seam of prejudice which exists in British society and which was apparent in some of the arguments which followed Mr. Enoch Powell's series of speeches in early 1968. These arguments, and the disproportionate degree of emphasis placed in debate on immigration, new arrivals and preserving law and order, rather than on solving the basic problems of settled coloured people in Britain, create suspicion in immigrant communities and serve to strengthen the position of the militants. (See Paras 59-60).

14. For all this, however, race relations in Britain are fairly harmonious. British coloured communities have by no means the same deeply ingrained sense of injustice and inferior status as have the Negroes of the USA. Statistically, the British groups are smaller (making up 2% of the total population, while in America, Negroes alone constitute 12% of the whole) and historically what grievances they have are of shorter duration. Relationships with authority, although at times bad, are not fraught with extreme mistrust, or even open

antagonism, as in the USA. To a large degree, the actions of the authorities themselves have been responsible for this. Traditional British concern for the rights of minorities has been reflected in the Race Relations Acts of 1966 and 1968 - by which overt racial or religious discrimination was made illegal - and by the establishment of the Race Relations Board which investigates complaints concerning such discrimination. Government Departments are also, when possible, charged with the maintenance of racial harmony in their respective spheres; for example the Department of Employment and Productivity often deals with race relations on the shop floor and, in the particularly sensitive area of police relations with coloured communities, the Home Office has always been ready to investigate allegations of prejudice. This policy has helped to reassure many coloured people in Britain about the impartiality of the authorities with whom they deal.

15. Although the Indian and Pakistani communities in Britain are closely knit groups and tend to be rather inward-looking, they have their own culture, religion and history and this makes them much less susceptible to the ideology of Black Power than is the American Negro community. The West Indian community in the UK is only slightly more amenable to Black Power influence but the young West Indian is probably the most likely potential convert to Black Power in the future.

(ii) Black Power in the UK

16. Black Power exponents in this country are noticeably responsive to outside example and the fame and following of American leaders such as Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael and latterly the Black Panther hierarchy have particularly impressed ambitious individuals. These local agitators vary from those who appear to be little more than self-publicists to those who seem convinced that the Black Power ideology is relevant to British conditions or have incorporated some of its concepts into their existing extremist left-wing views. None of them has a following of any great size, and few seem able to work in harmony with others.

17. The American influence on coloured militants here has been directly stimulated from time to time by visiting Negro American leaders. In 1965 Malcolm X - then of the American Black Muslims - came to Britain and deeply impressed a few of the more disillusioned West Indians by his self-confidence and oratory. To the few converts he made here he was a personification of his own ideas of black pride, and they were also attracted by his teaching that Black Power should be an international struggle and by his emphasis on the common roots of Negroes everywhere.

18. Malcolm's best-known British convert was Michael de Freitas (also known as Michael Abdul Malik) who took the name Michael X, thus copying the practice of the American Black Muslims. He founded a Black Muslim Brotherhood of Britain, which met with very little success, and later helped organise the Racial Adjustment Action Society. (Paras 49-50).

19. By the time Stokely Carmichael arrived in Britain in July 1967, the tone of the speeches by coloured militants at Hyde Park Corner had become increasingly threatening. (These speeches continue to be the most obvious manifestation of Black Power in Britain, and, for long periods, are its only manifestation). Carmichael advised that the idea of black consciousness be translated into political action:

"If racism is institutionalised in a society, the only way to end it is to destroy the society". (S. Carmichael, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation)

20. Carmichael was asked to leave the country, but he left behind him ideas which were eagerly seized upon by the militants, each of whom, however, had his own interpretation of them. The newly formed Universal Coloured People's Association (UCPA) announced that it was to be the British equivalent of Carmichael's Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), but there were no apparent links between the two bodies although four SNCC members were reported to have visited Britain early in 1968. (The Times, 14 March, 1968)

21. Paul Boutelle, a member of the American Socialist Workers' Party which has tried to ally itself to the American Black Power Movement, stayed in Britain for a few days in June, 1968. Two members of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, Tariq Ali and Pat Jordan, were said to have partly sponsored his visit (Sunday Telegraph, 2 June, 1968) and at a meeting organised by them in Hyde Park he urged that black people everywhere should arm themselves.

22. The latest of these American travellers has been Bobby Seale, one of the founders of the Black Panther Party in America, who visited Britain in April, 1969 on his way to Scandinavia. His presence had little overt effect, but may have given moral strength to the small Black Panther Movement which had already been set up in London.

23. Black Power leaders here have also been influenced from Peking. Several leading personalities on the British Black Power scene who admire Mao to the point of hero worship are regular visitors to the Chinese Diplomatic Mission and there is also evidence that what has been called "the official Maoist network in Western Europe" is deeply interested in Black Power in Britain. Albert Manchanda, a part of that "network", and his deputy Teja Singh Sahota, are active in the Black Power movement here, and have both visited China over the last three years. Indeed, Sahota's latest trip - in December, 1968 - was alleged to have been paid for by the Chinese Diplomatic Mission in London.

24. Gora Ebrahim, a Maoist South African who visited Britain in 1967-1968, is another element in the Maoist wooing of Black Power leaders (The Times, 15 March, 1968). Ebrahim met and influenced such activists as Ajoy Ghose, Roy Sawh, Johnny James, Jagmohan Joshi, and Manchanda. The latter is on the editorial board of Lal Kar, a Punjabi newspaper printed in Brussels and flown to London to be sold to Indian immigrants.

25. While American influences have largely worked on West Indians in Britain, the Maoists (and Trotskyists) have largely worked on the Asians. In both cases, though, the effects have been limited to the militant leadership and a few followers; there is no evidence of significant support at the grass roots for Maoism, Trotskyism or for militant Black Power.

(iii) Black Power Groups and Leaders

(a) Leaders

26. Michael de Freitas alias Michael X or Michael Abdul Malik is a Trinidadian. He formed a now-defunct Black Muslim Brotherhood of Britain in 1965. Shortly afterwards he helped found the Racial Adjustment Action Society (Paras 49-50).

27. De Freitas came to Black Power after a dubious past during which he was implicated in Rachmanite housing schemes, drug traffic and brothel-keeping. His main motive in espousing Black Power has probably been self-publicity. This reached a climax in 1967 when he was sent to gaol for a year for inciting racial hatred in a speech in which he claimed to have killed a white man and urged others to do likewise if circumstances demanded. His gaol sentence, he claims, has caused more people to listen to him:

"Before we had to work hard for a meeting, now the halls are always filled."
(Daily Telegraph, 23 May, 1969)

28. De Freitas is now attempting to establish a kind of "Black Capitalist" centre of shops and flats in North London, through which he hopes to resuscitate RAAS (the defunct Racial Adjustment Action Society).

29. Roy Sawh. An Indian from Guyana, Sawh has lived in Britain since 1959, and has spent two years at Moscow University (which he left, it is believed, after trouble arose from his racist views.) He has sympathies with Peking and was in close contact with Gora Ebrahim when he visited this country. (Para 24). Sawh is a talented speaker, but has found it nearly impossible to cooperate with other leaders, possibly because he is a volatile character. He was convicted of racial incitement in August, 1967.

30. After helping de Freitas to form RAAS in 1965 Sawh left to organise the Universal Coloured People's Association (UCPA) in June, 1966. He lost the leadership of the UCPA to other extremists led by Obi Egbuna and formed the Universal Coloured People's and Arab Association. He then took part in the formation of the Black People's Alliance in early 1968, but left its Steering Committee in the spring of 1969 after a dispute with a colleague, Jagmohan Joshi.

31. Jagmohan Joshi. Joshi is Secretary of the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain and convenor of the Black People's Alliance's Steering Committee. He is an extremist and a Maoist and regards the black-white confrontation as an anti-imperialist struggle. Although he countenances alliances with radical white groups, he scorns all moderates. He has defined his aims as

"uniting the Black peoples of Great Britain, helping to fight against British Imperialism both here and abroad. Our work is not intended to exclude the white working class, the most advanced sections of which, for example, the new Communist Party of Great Britain, Marxist Leninist (CPGB-ML) are with us". (Letter to Liberation, published by the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of India).

32. Obi Egbuna. Egbuna is a highly articulate Nigerian playwright (he is an Ibo who supports 'Biafra') and theorist of Black Power. He was given a twelve-month suspended sentence in December, 1968 for conspiracy to incite others to murder police. As this would imply, his speeches tend to be highly militant, but this sentence has forced him to be more restrained. His arrest and subsequent imprisonment for five months awaiting trial brought him support from other groups and leaders, including some of the moderates.

33. He places special emphasis on black culture and a spirit of identity with other coloured peoples. He has told the Times (14 March, 1968) that he

"has strong links with Africa and America... He was in contact with

Ahmed Mohammed Rahman Babu who has firm Chinese connections and was an architect of the Zanzibar revolution. He was first led towards Black Power in America."

34. In 1968 Egbuna lectured on Black Power at the so-called 'Anti-University of London' in Shoreditch, whose courses included seminars on revolution. The Anti-University had links with the Peace University of New York and an equivalent body in Holland. After the creation of the Black People's Alliance in 1968 Egbuna announced his intention to fade from the Black Power scene.

35. Frankie Y (Frankie Dymon). A former lieutenant of Michael X and one of the few members of the Black Muslim Brotherhood of Britain, Dymon has a penchant for colourful talk about teaching his people karate, handling of explosives, and terrorist tactics in urban areas. He has said that caches of arms to be used for Black Power purposes exist, but this seems doubtful. His outrageously violent speeches, like those of some of his contemporaries, seem a mixture of exhibitionism and an attempt to draw attention to the frustration of young intelligent coloured people.

36. Johnny James. James is a West Indian, resident in this country since 1959. A prolific writer and a Trotskyist with pro-Chinese views, he is known to have been in contact with the Belgian dissident Communist Jacques Grippa, and with Gora Ebrahim. He is the effective head of the Caribbean Workers' Movement and was assistant secretary of the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD), during the struggle for control between the militants and moderates in November, 1967. James is one of the hard-core of activists usually to be found at the centre of Black Power demonstrations.

37. Ajoh Ghose. Ghose was convicted and fined in November 1967 for stirring up racial hatred at Speakers' Corner. He is a leader of the UCPA, a frequent visitor to the Chinese Diplomatic Mission and a devotee of Mao, Carmichael and Gora Ebrahim.

38. Albert Manchanda. A militant and avowed Maoist, Manchanda plays a leading part in Vietnam war demonstrations in London. He leads the Britain-Vietnam Solidarity Front, is a regular visitor to the Chinese Diplomatic Mission and has attached himself to the Black Power movement as a means of gaining a wider audience for his Maoist views. Manchanda is the leading Maoist in the now fragmented Association of Indian Communists of Great Britain, which has a degree of influence in the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain (IWA).

39. Andrew Salkey. Salkey, a Jamaican novelist, agitates for Black Power on two fronts, the Jamaican and the British. He is deeply interested in events in his native country and has organised and led demonstrations to the Jamaican High Commission in London. In August, 1968 he headed a protest against the Jamaican Government's ban on the writings of leading American Black Power authors, and in October, 1968 he was fined for obstruction after another protest, this time against the banning from Jamaica of a university lecturer, Walter Rodney.

40. He claims that he is not a Communist, but he is extremely left-wing in his views, has visited Cuba, and has written of that island as an example to be emulated by other Caribbean countries. (Evening Standard, 10, July, 1968)

41. To Salkey, British society, at present fundamentally racist, must be uprooted and rebuilt. The influence of the coloured community in Britain must be used to bring this about.

42. He urges the different immigrant communities in Britain to unite in opposition to the administration's "deliberate policy of isolating them", and links this to a wider Black Power struggle:

"Powell and the British are fighting to maintain the idea and practice of Anglo-Saxon privilege and racial pride, through a veiled programme of racial contempt for the Black People in British society and throughout the world". (Black Dwarf, 14 March, 1969)

43. It is difficult to assess the extent of Salkey's audience, but he is perhaps the most eloquent voice in Britain preaching for the formation of a unified and militant Black Power base.

(b) Black Power Groups

44. There are over 1,000 coloured immigrant organisations in Britain, and the majority are unofficial cultural bodies working to create contacts between immigrants, helping new arrivals, and advising individuals about schools, housing and jobs. In this last capacity many of them work in liaison with the authorities. Very few British organisations can properly be called Black Power groups and even those with militant leaderships often contain only a minority of ordinary members who subscribe to Black Power.

45. The few militant organisations that do exist rely heavily on their noisy leaderships for publicity. Numbers of members in these bodies are seldom accurately known, due to the fact that they often have no registered membership; in nearly all cases numbers of adherents are much less than those claimed by the leaders. There does appear, however, to be an increasing response among young blacks in certain urban centres to the Black Power message.

46. The aims of Black Power groups and their leaders in Britain are seldom clearly articulated, and indeed vary somewhat from group to group. Usually they are a melange of vague left-wing ideals and more immediate demands for the alleviation of problems of general welfare, shading into white racialism.

47. At certain times outside influences such as 'Powellism', the Kenyan Asian problem, the Immigration Act of 1962, or the exposure of some particularly harrowing tale of exploitation of coloured immigrants in labour or housing, tend to create a temporary alliance between militant groups, occasionally including moderates as well. In general, though, moderate leaders denounce the militants as self-publicists who do more harm than good, while militant leaders seem united only on one thing - their dislike of moderation.

48. The following is a list of groups in Britain which are or have been in the past few years controlled in some degree by Black Power activists.

49. Racial Adjustment Action Society (RAAS). RAAS was founded in 1965 by De Freitas and Sawh. At that time its stated aims were the economic, social, and cultural welfare of coloured people in Britain, but its ideology became increasingly militant as De Freitas, in particular, tried to exploit the publicity that American Black Power leaders were gaining in Britain. After the imprisonment of De Freitas, RAAS collapsed. Lately its former leader has tried to revive it, under the banner of Black Capitalism. (Para 28).

50. At its height, in late 1965, RAAS claimed 45,000 members but the actual figure was probably around 1,500. Its activities were limited to fiery

58. The Black Eagles. The Black Eagles are a small group of activists working in South London, who concentrate on local problems and black self-help. They have copied the American Black Panther Party in using "ministerial" titles for their leaders (Daily Telegraph Magazine, 23 May, 1969). Their "Prime Minister" is Darcus Awusu, a Trinidadian and ex-member of the RAAS and UCPA.

59. The Black People's Alliance (BPA). The unease felt in the various coloured communities following the surge of intolerant views following Mr. Enoch Powell's controversial speeches on the racial situation in Britain was manifest in April, 1968 when 50 delegates from 20 immigrant communities met in Leamington Spa to form a body which would pursue a policy of "militant action to combat white racism". Thus the Black People's Alliance was formed.

60. The affiliated associations were by no means all militant, although some of the better-known moderate bodies would have little to do with it. To the militants, however, the formation of the BPA was "a beautiful thing". Jagohan Joshi said that "for the first time in the history of race relations in this country, black people have decided to unite". (New Statesman, 10 May, 1968).

61. There was little argument about the aims and means of the Alliance and the terms of its manifesto was vague. This was a symptom of the uneasiness of the Alliance: many of its constituent bodies had little sympathy with the aims of the militants, and soon after it was founded, moderate groups on its periphery began to drop away; these included the West Indian Standing Committee (Birmingham branch), the National Federation of Pakistani Associations in Britain and the Indian Workers in Southall and Slough.

62. The BPA thus became more and more the tool of the militants, although it has not fulfilled their expectations as a broadly based militant coalition. Nor has there been harmony among the militants themselves and Roy Sawh was ousted from the Steering Committee early this year after a clash with Joshi.

63. The Alliance has organised public meetings and demonstrations in conjunction with various leftist groups. One such demonstration, on the occasion of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in January, 1969, ended in rioting outside Rhodesia House and South Africa House, although the BPA and most of its supporters played no part in these concluding events. As the BPA contains the most militant of the coloured organisations in Britain, it is to be expected that similar demonstrations, with or without similar dénouements, may be mounted in the future.

(iv) Conclusions

64. The Black Power movement in Britain consists of a few colourful and articulate leaders who have a small but probably growing following. Among the great mass of immigrants and coloured Britons Black Power has little appeal, but the prerequisites for the racial suspicion, disillusionment and impatience on which Black Power feeds, does exist. The most likely converts are unemployed youths or coloured school-leavers who cannot get jobs to fit their qualification and the latter category is likely to increase in the near future.

65. The influences on Black Power leaders in Great Britain are from the Trotskyists, from the USA, and, to a lesser degree, from China. The leaders on whom these influences work are seldom explicit about their immediate aims and although most of them urge violent revolution to purge Britain of racism,

their means, so far, have been limited to oratory. In this they have been somewhat inhibited by the Race Relations Act, which, ironically enough, was intended to restrain white racism.

66. Black Power organisations in Britain are usually made up of little more than a militant group of leaders and a few sympathisers. The memberships claimed for these organisations are often inflated estimates and usually there is no registered membership as such.

67. The various Black Power leaders show little capacity for cooperation, but occasionally certain events have tended to unify militants, together with some moderates, for a short time.

68. The immediate dangers of Black Power here would seem to be, first, that the more violent believers may use tactics of sabotage - rather like those used by Welsh Nationalists - to publicise their cause (Para 35), and, second, that young coloured people may be tempted to follow the American example of the Black Panthers and use local confrontation with authority, the non-negotiable demand, and other techniques of intimidation to gain a hearing.

69. The storm produced by 'Powellism' in 1968 should serve as a warning that Britain is not necessarily exempt from the circle of accusation, recrimination and counter-accusation between races that has occurred elsewhere. Black Power, however sporadic its manifestations, or few its followers, must be regarded as a threat to the comparative harmony which has, with a few exceptions, for so long characterised race relations in Britain.

June, 1969